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Ich9oseo UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT 1 SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK -----x 2 3 OSEN LLC, Plaintiff, 4 5 18 CV 6070 (JSR) V. 6 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 7 Defendant. 8 9 New York, N.Y. December 17, 2018 10 3:14 p.m. Before: 11 12 HON. JED S. RAKOFF 13 District Judge 14 APPEARANCES 15 OSEN LLP Attorneys for Plaintiff 16 BY: MICHAEL J. RADINE WILLIAM FRIEDMAN 17 GEOFFREY S. BERMAN United States Attorney for the 18 Southern District of New York 19 Civil Division PETER ARONOFF 20 Assistant United States Attorney 21 22 23 24 25

(Case called)

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MR. RADINE: Michael Radine for plaintiff.

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MR. FRIEDMAN: William Friedman for plaintiff Osen

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LLC. Good afternoon, your Honor.

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MR. ARONOFF: Peter Aronoff U.S. Attorney's Office of

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the Southern District of New York.

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crossmotions for summary judgment. So there is no magic in who

THE COURT: So we're here on the oral argument on

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goes first but let me hear from plaintiffs first.

out there from State itself from other agencies.

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MR. RADINE: Sure. Thank you, your Honor.

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As we see it, there are two issues here going to

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whether there's contrary evidence to the State Department's

State has specifically identified what harms will flow from

whether State has specifically identified harms flowing from

what it's withheld versus what other official disclosures are

case law involving either the CIA or in light of the CIA on

ground for withholding information under the executive order at

issues about intelligence sources and methods, which is a

In both these cases State's argument largely relies on

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grounds for withholding its information. There is whether

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disclosing information that's already available publicly and

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issue here.

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However, of course, State is not the CIA and there's only one cable at issue for which it uses the intelligence

sources and methods ground for withholding. We dispute that as well but make the larger point that this case law is inapposite to the rest of the withholdings.

On the unofficial disclosure ground, here of course I mean WikiLeaks, as to those documents there's case law that says that the CIA intelligence sources and methods are so valuable and so important, they have such a capacity to embarrass a foreign nation that allowed a CIA operation, for instance, to occur on its soil that the remainder of doubt that a source might not be, the unofficially disclosed source, might not be genuine is worth keeping. It's not an issue here.

First of all, the materials from WikiLeaks don't present the same issues of doubt as they might in other cases. So, for instance, in the Second Circuit case <u>Wilson v. CIA</u> the issue was whether Ms. Wilson's letter from CIA HR about her employment dates. She had gotten that letter from the CIA and she disclosed it in breach of her own employment agreement. The Court said there's still some question of doubt as to whether the CIA's HR department correctly provided her dates of employment.

It's not an issue here. The question is not whether the information in the cables is accurate. The question is whether the WikiLeaks versions of the cables are accurate.

We provided authentication evidence that State has not countered. And in the years since the WikiLeaks disclosure has

been made, there has not been, to our knowledge, or that State
has raised, any evidence that they're inaccurate in any way.

Presumably the government would like to discredit that
disclosure. It has yet to happen.

On the official disclosure ground State relies on case law suggesting that --

THE COURT: If there had been no WikiLeaks disclosure, are you saying that they could not on other grounds withhold the remaining portions of these documents that are still in controversy.

MR. RADINE: If the WikiLeaks disclosure had never happened, they'd still have to confront official disclosures paid both by themselves, including in these cables and in -- by other agencies.

A couple of comments on that. Within these cables I would point to a few examples which really bring to question their ground that they can't disclose frank conversations with foreign officials. As we mention in our briefs, we think, as a general ground, protecting all conversations with foreign officials seems boundless and seems contrary to the FOIA purpose of disclosure. But if your Honor has it in front of him, I would turn to, for instance, Exhibit 19 from us which is the -- it's a cable, subject line: Iran Managing the Post-Basrah Backlash.

THE COURT: Hang on a minute.

Go ahead.

MR. RADINE: So it's easier to read on the WikiLeaks version, which starts a few pages in. And what's clear in paragraphs 1 through 4 is a conversation that is happening between — it's as near as I can tell a private conversation that's happening between State Department officials and Iraqi officials.

Paragraphs three and four are not redacted, even though it goes into detail about Iranian meddling in the national security of Iraq.

The next few paragraphs are redacted. They seem to touch on the same subjects. It's not clear why. There are names, it's true, of interlocutors after paragraphs three and four. But we'd submit those could just be redacted.

To the extent that the purpose behind FOIA is disclosing all segregable information, then redacting just those names would seem to solve their problem.

And even --

THE COURT: So what is the ultimate reason why you need these disclosures from the government? The normal FOIA rationale is simply to evaluate whether the government is working the way it's supposed to. And here you have the actual remainder of the documents but you say that's not good enough. You need more than just that information. You need an absolute in effect confirmation from the government that, yes, this was

the document. And for what purpose?

MR. RADINE: Well, we use these documents in the civil suits that we bring on behalf of our clients. And although we believe that, for the same reasons provided in our briefs, the WikiLeaks versions are authenticatable, the stronger evidence will always be the evidence from State Department itself and it may carry more weight.

THE COURT: Has that come up in any of your cases?

MR. RADINE: We have so far attempted not to use this information. Fortunately, there is so much officially disclosed information about that time period that we haven't needed to. In the exhibits in our crossmotion we provided really a very small sample, four of the weekly summaries from the commander of MNF-I that's Multinational Forces Iraq, that was General David Petraeus, and then later Raymond Odierno to Secretary of Defense and other information that's been provided by Sencom.

I would note that that information from those agencies is not only on the same topic and covers the same material but that's from another agency that not only has responsibility for national security, but one of the figures who is frequently redacted is the MNF-I commander himself, but he's a Department of Defense employee. To the extent that Department of Defense understands what presents a national security issue, I think it should apply here as well. This is, as opposed to some of the

cases that raise a question as to whether another agency can officially disclose information for a withholding agency, first of all, these are generally all CIA cases, as Judge McMahon's opinion in ACLU points out, but also those tend to be cases where the other agency doesn't have a national security role. So in Frugone v. CIA the CIA withholds information about Frugone's employment, same thing as in Wilson v. CIA, and the other agency disclosing it is the Office of Personnel

doesn't have that role, a national security role.

In the case that gave us Glomar, the Glomar response, the CIA is withholding information as to the Glomar ship and the disclosing agency was the National Science Foundation.

It's not at all similar to the situation here where State is withholding information that the Department of Defense is disclosing, including in some cases the same conversations. We have the example in the reply brief about Iran attempting to Lebanize Iraq. I would suspect that is literally the same conversation that was redacted from the State version of that cable.

Management. Naturally, the Office of Personnel Management

So, in short, we have a hard time understanding the justifications. The State Department has attempted to take the CIA's justification, that sort of last shred of deniability that's so important when it comes to maintaining secrecy around a CIA operation and a foreign country, and extend that broadly

to any conversation that a State Department official might have with a foreign official.

They don't cite a case for this proposition because it's too broad. It would essentially raise these conversations, some of which, I point out, are really not very extraordinary such as Prime Minister Maliki and Raymond Odierno, general U.S. forces complimenting each other and welcoming each other to a meeting, and raise that to the level that the CIA enjoys. It is cross-purposes to FOIA and unjustified by the case law.

With that, I think we'd take any questions from your Honor. But I think that our briefs cover our concern.

THE COURT: I'll put you on hold for now. Let me hear from your adversary. We'll come back to you very shortly.

MR. ARONOFF: Thank you, your Honor.

In large part I think that plaintiff's argument here just takes these documents at a level of generality that does not recognize the particular national security harms that the government has identified. The general issue with plaintiff's characterization of the documents — and this is setting aside for the moment the question of whether the information that's withheld is the same as the information that's available on WikiLeaks, on that point I note that the State Department has in this case, and has since the WikiLeaks disclosures first began, always refused to authenticate or comment on any

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specific document. But even assuming for the sake of argument that the information that's withheld is the same, plaintiff appears to be saying that information about diplomacy for foreign affairs does not deserve protection in the same way that intelligence information deserves protection. argument finds no basis in case law. It doesn't find any basis in the executive order governing classification. In fact, Executive Order 13526 Section 1.4 specifically lays out both foreign government information and information relevant to the conduct of foreign relations on an equal footing with intelligence sources or methods. So I see no basis to say categorically that the State Department's conduct of foreign affairs is somehow less important to national security than the defense department's role, a separate role in representing the United States abroad.

Plaintiff also claims, particularly in the reply brief, that somehow the CIA is different. This is another version of the same argument. And it is true that there's a lot of case law about the CIA and FOIA, but that's not — when we're talking about Exemption One, it's not because the CIA enjoys some special status. As I mentioned, the executive order puts intelligence sources and methods on the same footing as other bases for classification.

Plaintiff's citations are about Exemption Three and it's true that the CIA does enjoy some particular applicability

to protect certain kinds of information under Exemption Three but that's not relevant to this case.

THE COURT: So if we look at Exhibit 19 which was the one that your adversary pointed to. What exemption applies to the redacted portions that does not apply to the unredacted portions?

MR. ARONOFF: Well, the redacted portions of exemption -- sorry, of Exhibit 19 are withheld under Exemption One. They're classified -- broadly, that this document has classification both because it contains foreign government information, it would be in the margin, the government document 1.4(b) referring to the executive order. At 1.4(d) that's information relevant to the conduct of foreign relations.

To get to your Honor's question, compared to the rest of the document the State Department did a line-by-line review of each of these documents when it received this FOIA request. The information that was released, in the State Department's view, releasing it would not cause any harm to national security and typically -- I mean we're speaking about a number of documents and each document is reasonably long, but typically the reason is that information still withheld at this point relates to particular conversations with foreign officials, usually high-ranking officials, about sensitive matters in Iraq. Many of these officials are still active in politics in Iraq today. And releasing them -- it's just like

politics in the U.S. It's important to conduct certain kinds of activities in a sensitive and discrete way and if a behind-the-scenes look at exactly everything that a foreign official said to the United States and an American official's characterization or reaction to that specific conversation, if that came out, that would damage the United States' ability not only to deal with the specific individuals involved but also the United States is a repeat diplomatic player and on an ongoing basis if the United States is forced to give official accounts of all of its conversations that it holds with foreign officials across the world, it would make it impossible to conduct the sort of sensitive discussions that are necessary for diplomacy in foreign affairs.

THE COURT: Why wouldn't the concerns that you're raising with respect, again just focusing on these particular paragraphs of 19, be satisfied by just redacting the names of the people who are the sources?

MR. ARONOFF: As a general matter, this goes more to segregability than to classification. There's a few different reasons.

One reason is, particularly in the area of classification, courts have recognized that individual details, none of which are significant on their own, when taken together can rise to the level of a sensitive piece of information. And so having some details about a conversation, even if the

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speaker himself or herself is not identified or neither side is identified, it may still allow for an inference for who was speaking based on context and the context of the surrounding document.

It's also possible that it doesn't matter who was speaking, it just matters that someone high ranking in Iraqi government said this to someone at the U.S. Embassy or otherwise in American government.

These are general reasons but these are the sorts of reasons that the State Department considers.

And I would note also that the redactions here are really at the sentence-by-sentence level. The State Department was careful to enclose disclose exactly as much information as it could and still protect national security.

And I also note that a lot of information was classified specifically during the review for this very case. So it's not the case that the State Department simply kept the classified labels that were first put in place ten years ago or whenever these documents were created. There really was a line-by-line review of each sentence.

THE COURT: Let's go back, finally, to plaintiff's counsel.

MR. RADINE: A few comments on defendant's argument.

The distinctions in Exhibit 19 that really provide a good example, because the argument that there are individual pieces

of information that can be read in the aggregate is an argument that's -- I believe I've only seen, again, in the intelligence context. This is Larson v. State which says in the context of the CIA that even trivial pieces of information can be brought together by enemy intelligence services trying to work out the methods of the CIA. I haven't seen it used in this diplomatic context.

But more to the point, these propositions that there could be individual pieces or maybe it's not the name but you can figure out who it is, these are all points that have to be made in a declaration. They have to be made with enough specificity that the Court can review that and the opposing party can try to counter them. As a sort of post hoc explanation, it's not helpful.

As near as we can tell from the declaration, the ground for withholding cable after cable is a fact that it would reveal who the speaker was who, as I said, may be still in politics; although I'll note that's not always the case.

And at least in the case of President Talabani he is not even alive. So I don't think that that works as a justification, at least as the way the declaration is spelled out.

Again withholding it as information is not the issue. The information is available on WikiLeaks. The question then is whether the official disclosure of that information has an additional threat to national security. And as the case law

shows, that appears in the CIA context. It may appear for other agencies that enjoy that additional level the DIA, the NSA possibly. But it's not appeared in the context of simple diplomatic chatter. It's appeared in that sources and methods environment. Again, that's appeared, the sources and methods is at issue in one cable. We would dispute that as we laid out in our brief. But it's just there.

so, given the purpose of FOIA as a disclosure statute, even crediting the idea that some of these conversations have names that you're withholding, although they're not always withheld. Truly you can just jump to the very first exhibit to find a conversation here. There are some redactions. But you know who is in the conversation. It's literally in paragraph one, this document's subject line is: Charge's July 29 meeting with NSA Rubaie. That's Chargé D'Affaires Patricia obtained this meeting with Iraqi National Security Adviser Mowaffak al-Rubaie. It says in a July 29 introductory call, National Security Adviser Rubaie told Chargé Butenis — it goes on from there. Parts of it are exempted. Parts of it are not. It's not something based on a declaration that we can follow and, therefore, it's not something we can easily respond to.

THE COURT: All right. I'll hear finally from the government.

MR. ARONOFF: Thank you, your Honor.

As an initial matter, the government submitted two

unclassified declarations. Necessarily, when discussing classified information, an unclassified declaration must be circumspect.

well tell what's been redacted and what hasn't, since there was some further disclosures after the initial documents were given the Court, it would be helpful to have in some form what those additional disclosures were so that I can evaluate exactly what's being still redacted and what isn't. So if maybe jointly you could figure out a nice way to -- worst case you can give me the new versions of what has been disclosed and I can compare them with the WikiLeaks documents. But I'm open to any other way you want to do it. I just want to be able to know for sure -- I don't want to spend time looking at something that turns out to have already been disclosed in the second round of disclosures.

MR. ARONOFF: Very well, your Honor.

I do note of course that the government is not confirming that the information in WikiLeaks versions --

THE COURT: Yes, of course. And that's an important part of your argument. I understand that. And I think — this has been implicit in much of the briefing, is so someone hacks into secret materials. The government — they then become public in some sense but, of course, the public is free to use them in that sense. The government then is sort of in the

horns of a dilemma. They want to reveal there's been a leak or a hacking but they don't want to affirmatively sign off on what has been now made public. And that's why I asked the question earlier of plaintiff's counsel, What do you need this for? And what they tell me I think they need it for is hypothetical use in their parallel litigation but having haven't yet had to actually have a need for it. Now maybe I'm being unfair to plaintiff's counsel and I'll let them speak in a minute. But I don't know whether that's relevant to my analysis. This is FOIA. It's not a question of what their ultimate purpose is. But it sounds a little secondary to the original purposes of FOIA.

MR. ARONOFF: I agree with that argument, your Honor, although I acknowledge there's case law saying a particular purpose for which a document is to be put is not relevant.

I do want to touch on two points.

THE COURT: Go ahead.

MR. ARONOFF: The first point is the intelligence review that plaintiffs attach as Exhibit 29. I just want to be clear that neither this document nor the Chelsea Manning documents that plaintiffs cite really has anything of relevance to say about these documents. Plaintiffs cite, if your Honor turns to page — it's numbered page 12 of Exhibit 29.

THE COURT: Hang on a minute.

MR. RADINE: Is this the original?

MR. ARONOFF: Yes. This is the original.

THE COURT: OK. I'm there.

MR. ARONOFF: So plaintiffs say that this intelligence review, first of all, says that these cables on WikiLeaks were derived from a State database. To say that something is derived from a database is not to say that it's identical.

Much of modern English vocabulary is derived from French but that doesn't mean you can walk around in Paris speaking English and have people understand you.

The second point is that plaintiffs point to this line-by-line review. But the line-by-line review, particularly when read alongside of the very first paragraph of this document, it's clear that what the -- what's being discussed here is a line-by-line review of underlying government documents to address the question of: Suppose these things were released, what would the harm be to national security; not the question of line-by-line comparing WikiLeaks documents against any government document. So this document here does not suggest that the government has effectively come out and said: Yes, we've confirmed each line is the same and thereby operates as some kind of official disclosure.

I don't expect -- this document, I think, was released through FOIA. Given the government's efforts since the time of the WikiLeaks disclosures to make sure that it's not commenting on any particular document, it would be surprising if this FOIA

release somehow effectively pulled the rug out from under the entire government.

And, similarly, the Chelsea Manning testimony, that's just the testimony of one felonious government employee. It's not an official disclosure.

I'd also note that those proceedings, the criminal proceedings were closed to the public in that case whenever classified information was going to be discussed specifically because the government wanted to make sure that there were no further harms to national security from the conduct of that prosecution.

The other point -- if I had a separate thought, it's vanished.

THE COURT: And you're so young compared to those of us who can't remember what we had for breakfast.

Let me hear -- I know plaintiff's counsel wanted to say a few additional things.

MR. RADINE: Sure. As your Honor and defense counsel noted, the principle underlying FOIA is not the purposes, of course, that the requester has in requesting the information but the disclosure that the government is encouraged to make.

I didn't want to overstate or let's say understate the usefulness of these documents to us, however. To the extent that we haven't used them is in part the stage of the trials we're at. We have used them in expert reports where they can

apply their on expertise to the reliability of the document.

But the issue for us is definitely a real one.

But, again, the broader issue is the purpose of the statute. And, of course, WikiLeaks is not the only grounds we've given for releasing these documents. In part, it's also a declaration that doesn't give itself over to ready analysis or understanding especially given other information out in the field.

The documents from the trial are not, of course, just the IRTF report or Chelsea Manning's statements which are unclassified. We've not used any classified information here. And her conviction and sentencing is premised on the fact that this information was released to WikiLeaks. It's been the government's position in other filings, as included in our briefings that, for instance, hundreds of thousands of identifying codes of significant activity reports, also taken by Chelsea Manning, were, quote, identical.

And lastly, of course, this is on top of the other authentication evidence that we've presented. I think the larger takeaway is that both from an acknowledgment and authentication standpoint we know what this information says. Other countries have read it. I think at this point it's sort of beyond the stage of what is not anything but the public information.

So, just to sum up, State has referenced a few times

in its briefs that it's, quote, not up to a private law firm to decide what information is reasonably likely to harm national security if released. We don't disagree with that. I think it's up to an Article III Court. And we'd respectfully ask you to look at some of these materials and see if the declarations provide enough information and whether adjustments, whether it be redacting names, or producing information from President Talabani, or so on can be made to help further that FOIA principle.

That's it from us, your Honor.

THE COURT: All right. Yes.

MR. ARONOFF: Sorry, your Honor. I just have two small points. I think what we're getting to is really the kind of -- the last question that the Court really must consider is suppose that the content of the redactions and the WikiLeaks versions of these documents, suppose it's the same, is there still any harm that would result. And on that point the second Stein declaration, paragraph 26, makes clear that just as in the Wilson case in which a letter on CIA letterhead signed by a CIA employee saying, "Yes, you were employed for these dates" has been published by Congress, the Second Circuit nonetheless recognized that there is a particular harm that comes when you're conducting something in secret and then you're forced to come forward and acknowledge it publicly.

In the Stein declaration, Mr. Stein explains that when

there's unofficial information a foreign government doesn't need to respond by basically accusing the United States itself of lying. That is the only thing that could be left if there is an official statement from the United States that X conversation occurred, that someone said something in this particular way. And those harms, they come from just the acknowledgment itself.

This is what happens in leaks cases. There might be a New York Times article that says here are 20 unnamed sources who all said the same thing. But there's still value to the government in not having to come forward and either confirm or deny that information. And that's true whether it's intelligence information, or diplomatic information, or any other sort of — or information about an ongoing criminal investigation. That principle applies across all sorts of domains of government. And I recognize, of course, that FOIA is a disclosure statute but it doesn't require the disclosure of information when that disclosure would harm national security.

And the very last point on the Chelsea Manning trial.

I don't have the citation before me but there is the most recent appeal in that case which is from this year, the Armed Forces Court of Appeals decision notes that Chelsea Manning ultimately pled guilty only to releasing 75 State Department cables. And it notes that the larger file that contained

250,000 files was corrupted. So I don't -- that's a published opinion. It's not classified. It's clear from that document that the prosecution of Chelsea Manning does not by itself show that these 250,000 cables are, each of them, line-by-line identical to any official government document.

THE COURT: All right.

MR. ARONOFF: Thank you.

THE COURT: Thank you very much.

MR. RADINE: Could I have one more comment?

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. RADINE: Last one, your Honor, I promise.

I would just say that the citation to <u>Wilson</u> as to the effect of officially acknowledging something versus not, we referenced earlier that that appears in the CIA intelligence context. But I'd also point out that Wilson said the CIA's job isn't done from identifying the harm generally which would be embarrassment of a foreign power retaliation. It then has to specifically apply it. And in the Stein declaration a single paragraph essentially apes the language from Wilson but adds diplomacy language rather than intelligence language. We'd have to go back and explain why specifically if Iraq were forced to confront the reality that Maliki once said a nice word about General Odierno, then the embarrassment would be too much and national security would be thus harmed. So it's a specific showing that's not been made here. I will not say

anything more after that.

THE COURT: Very good. This has been a very helpful argument. I will take the matter sub judice. Get me the one item I asked you to get me certainly within a week and I will — there's a lot here to review so I don't think I'll get you an opinion until January but I'm sure I'll get to it by January.

MR. RADINE: Thank you, Judge.

MR. ARONOFF: Thank you, your Honor.

(Adjourned)

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